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POLITICAL REMARKS

BY

“N.”

Northrop, Clauden. B.

NUMBERS IX, X, XI.

CHARLESTON:

STEAM-POWER PRESSES OF EVANS & COGSWELL,

No. 3 Broad and 103 East Bay Street.

1861.



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Originally prepared for the Charleston Courier, in continuance of the series, which that press published, with unmerited commendation, in its earlier portions. Soon after their author became known, to a few attentive readers, his thoughts were deemed burdensome to the newspaper.

Having been encouraged to set his eggs, he wishes to hatch out the whole brood. A few of his friends, who have honored his conversations, by soliciting their publication, may find them stale; but he hopes, as they seem to believe, that some good may be effected.

CLAUDIAN B. NORTHROP



## IX.

It is a common observation that, owing to the uniform operation of moral principles, persons of striking resemblance in character appear, in different periods of history. Pythagoras referred to these remarkable coincidences, in confirmation of his system of philosophy. His singular theory of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, derived its plausibility from the experience of mankind. Similar to this is the curious correspondence, which is often remarked between personages in fiction and real individuals; who, living long after the period of some enduring romance, could not have been in the contemplation of its author.

It would be difficult in the range of history, or fiction, to find a more apposite illustration of these remarks, than in the latter portion of the career of Mr. Buchanan. We have seen him startled from his self-complacent repose, by the alarm of the country, like the illustrious Governor of Barrataria; like him, praying that all the troubles of war should be referred to a fanatic;—not noble as the insane knight of La Mancha, but denounced by himself as of dangerous political opinions;—repeating the despised threats of the dead hero, General Jackson; and shielding himself under inapplicable laws; as his great prototype was encased between two rusty targets. We have seen him stumble and fall, and recommending himself to Heaven to be delivered from the danger which terrified his selfish spirit; while his followers and flatterers trampled upon him, with despicable meanness.

The resemblance between Sancho Panza, the immortal creation of Cervantes, and Mr. Buchanan; with an interval of more than two hundred and fifty years between the type and the reality; might have served as a prophetic guide to a close investigator. Although no use was made, at the time, of this



singular revelation, which would have instructed, still it may be entertaining, and not unprofitable, to notice how the history of Governor Panza continued to prefigure the decline of President Buchanan. When last the parallel was referred to, it was seen that "some stumbled over Sancho, others fell over him; and one there was who, getting a-top of him, installed himself there for a good while." (*Don Quixote, Part ii. chap. 53.*)

Had attention been given to the uniformity of moral causes, and the theory of resemblances, on which the Pythagorean system depends; how easy it would have been to foresee that he who should get a-top and bstride the President, would be some boastful, vamping man of martial parade. The rest of the sentence just quoted is as follows: "thence, as from a watch-tower, he commanded the troops, and cried in a loud voice, 'this way, brave boys; \* \* guard that postern; shut yon gate; down with those scaling ladders; \* \* barricado the streets.' In short, he named in the utmost hurry all the necessary implements and engines of war used *in defence of a city assaulted*. The poor battered Sancho, who, trampled under foot, heard and bore all, said to himself, 'Oh! if it were Heaven's good pleasure that this island were once lost, and I could see myself either dead or out of this great strait.' \* \* They rubbed him down; they brought him wine; *they untied the target*; he sat down upon his bed, and swooned with the fright, surprise and fatigue he had undergone."

When Mr. Buchanan virtually relinquished the cares of State, which, like a bankrupt, he assigned to General Scott and the Black Republicans, who scorned him; he occupied and consoled himself, in his occultation, by preparing for his last hiding place at Wheatland. Sancho was a man of purer heart and more honest, and therefore the analogy becomes less perfect; for the late President, in his retreat from "the greatest temple of liberty the world ever saw," can never equal the truthfulness of his model.

Yet there is a similitude. Cervantes records that "he at last finished dressing himself; and by little and little (for he was so bruised he could not do it hastily) he took the way to the stable, everybody present following him. Approaching Dapple, he embraced him, and gave him a kiss of peace on the forehead; and, not without tears in his eyes, he said: 'Come

hither my companion, my friend, and partner in my fatigues and miseries. When I consorted with thee, and had no other thoughts but the care of mending thy furniture, and feeding thy little carcass, happy were my hours, my days, and my years. But since I forsook thee, and mounted upon the towers of ambition and pride, a thousand miseries, a thousand toils, and four thousand disquiets, have entered into my soul. \* \* \* Give way, gentlemen, and suffer me to return to my ancient liberty; suffer me to seek my past life, that I may rise again from this present death. I was not born to be a governor, nor to defend cities from enemies that assault them. \* \* \* \* In my hand a sickle is better than sceptre." Sancho retired with a wise humility. "They all embraced him, and he left them in admiration, as well at his discourse, as at his resolute and discreet determination."

Not so, alas! with the last of the Presidents of the United States of America. His reputation will endure like the gravestone that reminds us of the dead. The exalted station to which he crawled, where great and good men have long "disdained to climb," has served but to measure the extent of his unworthiness. In a few short months, he has descended from duplicity to falsehood,—from falsehood to perfidy,—from insolent treason, to pusillanimous insignificance; and he has now retired, with the contempt even of the mean and dishonorable; with the pity of the good, because they are charitable. His exit from political life is in harmony with his character; for he was never known to have courage to confront a foe, nor fidelity to serve a friend. He has permitted himself to be used by those who denied the principles he professed, as they would an old shoe that was easy to wear; until, when it became quite worthless, they have thrown it into the scavenger's cart. The name and achievements of James Buchanan, President of the United States of America, will hereafter be found in the great trash heap of history.

Over the dishonored grave of the Union, which died of its own corrupting falsehood, its troubled ghost appears. There, hideous but powerless, is the ghastly spectre of fanaticism. Some people are weak enough to be alarmed at the grim vision, and its hollow-sounding menace—its impotent malice.

Let us calmly examine this delusion, and dispel these idle fears. The evil spirit will vanish under the weak rays of early

dawn, and the strong light of the meridian sun is not needed. The humblest intelligence is sufficient to expose and banish such groundless, unsubstantial apprehensions.

The enemies of freedom throughout the whole land, in their war against the sovereignty of the States, lauded the declarations of Mr. Buchanan; because they were satisfied with his practical denial of the principles he professed. He distinctly acknowledged the sovereignty of each State, and declared that the Government of the Union was one of "delegated powers," derived from, and limited by the Constitution. How long, then, will the people, on whom all popular governments depend, sustain his successor; who, either from ignorance or design, has declared, in the first solemn act of his inauguration, that, under the Constitution of the United States, all power flows from the will of the majority of the American people, without any State distinctions? Does he suppose that among all the millions who still cling to the Union, because they have not learned its delusions, there are none who will not remember that Mr. Lincoln, himself, has not been elected by that majority, which he pretends to be supreme? Will not every honest man among them, reflect that there is no provision in the Constitution which ascertains such a majority, or by which it has any organized existence, or can exercise the functions of government? Are all principles of public law, the adjudications of the Federal and State Courts, the experience of "the learned and the unread," the recent professions of his predecessor, applauded by sycophantic politicians, and presses, throughout the whole country, to be set at naught, because this man—by accident, and anger, and popular misconception—now lifted into the Presidency, professes a new and preposterous theory of our institutions?

Yet suppose all this to be so, and that the new prophet has truly interpreted the sentiments, and represents the will of the mass of the people, who adhere to the Union; what effective support can he derive from them? or how can he declare a formal, regular war with the Confederate States of America? The mere declaration of war would be a recognition of the sovereignty he denies. Are the people of the other States, who now *appear* to be under his government, ready to engage in irregular, offensive, civil war; to vindicate such novel doctrines?

The man himself is afraid to propose such an extreme. If his purpose be to delude his followers; and seduce them into such an absurd and wicked war, does not his very hypocrisy show that he himself does not confide in their voluntary support?

But whatever may be his or their delusion, do we not know that the spirit of selfishness, the custom of trade, the domestic habits of the North, and East, and Northwest, both of the cities and prædial population—not to mention the great middle and barrier States—are all inconsistent with that self-forgetting public spirit, which is necessary to inaugurate and conduct so grand a movement as a war? They might volunteer by thousands to overrun a weak neighbor, like Mexico, with rich lands and mines, and fabulous wealth to spoil; but will they venture to assail the South, with nothing to gain but a barren propagandism of social and political theories, which the great majority are too selfish even to have seriously examined? Do not their leaders, on whom the fatal responsibility of disappointment will recoil, know that the South is invincible in self-defence?

Besides all the reasons with which the public have been wearied, about the material power of the South, do they not know that the slaves, as a population not socialized with their masters, serve to set apart and give a vigorous individuality to Southern men; and that their familiarity with discipline, and organized labor, causes a facility for military combination to that individuality? What power have they got but that of money, which is ever timid, selfish, self-indulgent; to meet the fierce, self-reliant, dominant soldiership of the South? Shall we allow our anger or our apprehensions to unsettle our judgment; and give qualities to our enemies, that they do not possess? to doubt their cunning sagacity, or attribute to them disinterested public spirit? Our political leaders have misguided us, when they described those, who have used the Federal Government to pilfer the South, as robbers. They may be thieves.

No war of invasion can come from such a people. They are not held together by the social ties of family. Where divorce is legalized and customary, prostitution becomes fashionable; and even the sexes hate one another. They have no loyalty to their State sovereignties, no confidence, no self-sacrifice. They

only pretend to idolize their Union, because it is a thing out of their sight. They will never serve it, labor for it, die for it, as the Southern freemen will for their sovereignty.

But they have money, and credit, and people ; and have an army and a navy, and can multiply them. We shall see what that amounts to. N.

*Charleston, 8th March, 1861.*

## X.

Should the Government at Washington imagine itself capable of declaring war against the Confederate States; or, without any formal war, engage in hostilities, under the pretence of enforcing its laws, maintaining its military posts and garrisons, and retaking those which are now in the possession of those States; how will it conduct such war, or prosecute those hostilities?

As a Government, it has no abundant treasury; nor has it any system of taxation, which can replenish it, except by the imposition of duties on commerce. This depends on the continuance of peace. From whom will it borrow money? Of what does the boasted wealth of the North and Northwest consist? Whatever it be, it is the result of trade; and is little else but a vastly extended credit; dependent on a state of established order throughout the whole sphere of that credit. Let the Government venture on a general interruption of the course of trade, and shake the balance of justice, and that wealth, on which it relies, will be arrayed against it. The influence of the pernicious Union, which it is proposed to re-establish and perpetuate, has concentrated the wealth of vast regions and multitudes of people in a few large cities. In them it has increased their natural tendency to unwholesome inequality, and fluctuation in the distribution of that wealth. The consequence is, that there is no established class of the rich, who are connected by rank with the Government; while the evil of a numerous poor population, without loyalty to the Government or interest in its institutions, is more glaring than in any other civilized nation upon the earth.

The wealthy have no other employment for their accumulations, than trade, speculations in public and private credits, and wasteful extravagance. Will their marble and brown stone palaces, and princely furniture, and pompous equipages; their

French cookery and profligacy, furnish supplies for an army? A country is wealthy when its capital is invested in productive labor, as is the case with the slaveholding States; but among the free States, money, as it is called, is in antagonism with labor. The people, who produce, accumulate very little; and they have nothing to spare for patriotism. They are kept from turbulence, in the employment furnished by the public and private works of extravagance; which only gratify the love of vanity and display, and are unproductive. Yet with all this, what is the boasted condition of the large cities, in which the necessary means of war are to be obtained from timid mammon, and its usurious speculations? They have nothing redundant; and the poverty, immorality, ignorance and brutality of the masses, correspond with the profligacy, and selfishness of the rich. With rare exceptions, patriotism, and the earnest co-operation of the people, which it alone can produce, are nowhere to be found.

The reason why they have ever advocated the consolidation of the Union, is because they have so few elements of social consolidation in their own States. There is a sad conviction among themselves, that their social order is dependent on the Federal Government. Yet the power of that Government has been contemned among their people; and within the sphere of their own self-despised State Governments, their Legislatures have been compelled to set the laws of the Federal Government at naught; in subservience to the fanaticism of the people. To obtain place in Congress, that very spirit which defies its laws, has been pandered to, by their parasite creatures—self-styled leaders. Such is the depraved condition of their society, that its only hope is in the power of a Government, whose authority they have contemptuously disregarded.

Those wealthy few, from whom alone that Government can now look for support, are familiar with its corruption and inefficiency. They neither honor nor trust it. Let us dwell no longer on this sad picture. Their own people have placed at the head of that Government, those to whom the rich traders, and stock jobbers, and paper money men of all sorts, were opposed; and neither the people, nor the Government, are their friends. From these elements are we to look for that vigorous concentration, and self-sacrifice, which war requires?

So much for the money resources of this boasted, boastful

Union. The unhappy traitors at Washington, and the pampered idolators of mammon, to whom they look for succor, have already laid these things to heart; and understand the disease now preying on their vitals, better than we can, who only observe the outward symptoms.

We have heard of the hordes of Northern and Northwestern fanaticism; which may be poured over the South. Supposing that spirit to be as fearful as our politicians of the stump, and in Congress, have been, for years, alarming us about. Do we not know what all history has taught: that fanaticism must be first controlled, and mastered, at home, before it can be formidable abroad? Its nature is disorganizing. Its course is through intestine discord, to anarchy; from anarchy to despotism; and from despotism to foreign war. Their State sovereignties must be overturned, and their boundaries obliterated, before Mr. Lincoln can wield the power of their people. His visionary, and false theory of the Union must be a painful reality, before he can execute his sinister threats. There must be years of terrific strife among them, before such a consummation; and greater men than any one, who has been insignificant enough, to secure the electoral votes for the Presidency, in many years past, must act in that fearful drama.

The great Northwest, about which so much rhetoric has been expended, is occupied by *strangers to one another*. They have fled from the *recruiting* service of Europe. They have been, and are yet too busy, in clearing land, building log cabins, pressing cider and cheese, raising corn and wheat, and making flour and bacon, and a numerous little progeny of German and Irish-American boys and girls, to be very eager about enlisting as soldiers, or campaigning in the sultry South. Puritanical fanaticism, or trembling and pragmatic mammon, may buy steel pikes, and preach sympathy for a few ruffians like John Brown; but whence will the men come, to handle those weapons, or rescue the desperate? The poor discharged laborers in New York, and Boston, and Philadelphia, and throughout the manufacturing towns of New England, will prefer to take what is near at hand, from the rich they hate, than to be their hireling Hessians; even if wealth should not have refused to pour its treasure into the military chest of Mr. Lincoln.

Has the Northern rustic or city pauper any real sympathy for the Southern negro? Have not their friends been among



our people? Do they not know that the black man and woman is their enemy? And do they not abhor, and persecute those few unfortunate colored people, who have, by adverse winds and tides, been drifted among them? Should such a folly as an invasion be attempted, they and their leaders will learn another lesson about the Southern negro; which will be remembered as long as the horrors of Indian warfare. The negroes will be our pioneers, our scouts, our spies. Dark nights, and swamps, and distances, are nothing to their instinctive sagacity, their practiced feet, and hardy nurture. What do they know or care for false philanthropy? They depend on their master, and will be as treacherous to his enemies, as they are faithful to him. Mr. Lincoln is welcome to all he can make out of the money, or the people of the crumbling Union.

He, and his deluded followers, may indulge the hope, that he has the renowned army and navy; who have won glory under the ancient flag, which the false Union took from the hands of Washington, only to dishonor. Yes, there is his last dependence. The Government which, in all its waste and profligacy, has ever been niggardly mean to the officers and men under its flag—straining, to the last point of endurance, the sentiment of honor, upon which the links of military organization hang—now basely turns to them with its flattering delusions. They must not desert their post. They are not lawyers, or moral philosophers, forsooth! They are only guided by obedience to orders, and honor! Does honor demand from them implicit obedience to their commander-in-chief, though he personifies the vilest of the people; though he be ignorant of the true principles of government, or falsely denies them, because they condemn his policy? Does honor require that they shall obey a chief who breaks his own honor; who deserts them in their extremity; who disowns their conduct, though in strict conformity to general orders; until he finds that their course is approved by an inconsistent press; which is governed by no principle except opposition to the South? Does honor require them to remain imprisoned in a fort, surrounded by troops hostile to their flag, and dependant on the personal kindness of those, against whom their guns are pointed; and which is daily insulted by military preparations for their destruction? Does honor require that they shall depend for reinforcements and supplies upon deceitful stratagem? That the commandant of a fort shall see “the

flag of his government fired upon," and the signal of the vessel that bears it unanswered, until it is either shot away, or ambiguously hauled down in disgrace? \* That this dishonor should be vindicated by a disingenuous explanation, which must itself be explained, or forever blot the fair name of its author? That both he, and the commander-in-chief of the army, should stultify themselves before the whole world, and insult a magnanimous and forbearing people, by their puerile talk of "an unarmed vessel," which was filled with soldiers and munitions of war? That this subterfuge should be accompanied with a threat, whose defiance was met by a reference to the government, which withdrew it?

We are anxious to find excuse for a gallant officer, and we will not condemn, without a candid hearing, one whose life has been that of a brave soldier, under the perplexing trials to which he is exposed. Yet what confidence can he, or any honorable man, have in a government which has thus abused the fidelity of its officers? The commandant of a post, with the weighty responsibility of an enormous amount of public property under his charge, is entitled to much charitable considerations; and if he cannot extricate himself from the fetters of artificial habit; or if he is seduced by the praise, which in his soul he must despise, because his own conscience is uneasy; there are not many in his peculiar situation.

He could not resign his trust, until he had determined how to secure that property; and as the question was a novel one, he might need time, and counsel, and deliberation, to make a right decision. The other officers may resign; and, if their resignations are refused, they, and the men under their command, are bound, in conscience, to disobey any orders which are unlawful. They should appeal, each to their own sovereign; and in the last resort, claim the protection of all of those sovereigns, who have withdrawn from the federal compact, and whose action

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\* History will be sadly at fault when she records the defeated reinforcement of the *Star of the West*. It is a well attested fact that her signal flag was lowered as she was retreating; but the official report of her master says nothing of this. It is said the flag at her peak was not lowered. Our militia were not familiar with the rules of war, for sovereignty has slumbered, as in a trance, for three generations. This double dealing was quite consistent with the design and conduct of the expedition. It was successful, for it was practiced on a generous people, who spared a retreating enemy, with his ensign of defiance sunk before their guns.

has embarrassed the question of allegiance. Let one such officer or soldier be sacrificed, under the forms of martial law, and the whole *nation* will blaze with war. The most awful, merciless retaliation will be a duty of sacred justice.

They will find it less difficult to determine where that true honor, which is never inconsistent with duty, should lead them. They know that their relation to the government is peculiar. Their organization remains firm and entire, however the administration may fluctuate. They are kept aloof from the political contests, for its powers and honors. All the civil officers of the Federal Government were required to swear "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." But every officer, and non-commissioned officer, and private, of the army of the United States, has taken an oath of more solemn obligation and deeper significance. The army is expected to recognize its sovereigns, to whom it is immediately responsible. Its members are not required to consider constitutional questions, nor to interpret either the fundamental law, or ordinary legislation. From them is exacted an oath of ALLEGIANCE to the United States.

They are expected to know who and what the United States are; and if they forget their history, and the language of the flag that floats over them, as the ensign of sovereignty; they are each one reminded by the very terms of their oath, that the United States are not regarded as a unit. Let them turn to the oath, in the articles of war, (Art. X,) and see there, that they are not required to swear allegiance to the Government of the Union, or to the Republic; but that they have sworn to "bear true allegiance to the United States of America," and to serve THEM, honestly and faithfully, against all THEIR enemies or opposers whomsoever," and "to observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over them, according to the rules and articles for the government of the armies of the United States."

Has the English language lost its meaning, under the insidious influence of the false Union? Have the army forgot the interpretation of the word ALLEGIANCE? Does not every man know that it is the very word that expresses the relation of man to sovereignty? Homage is given to the feudal lord; obedience to the *lawful* superior, that is, the officer who is clothed with *legal* authority; but allegiance is due to the sovereign who is

supreme, who is above law, which flows from sovereignty as its source. Sovereignty is the creator of the law. It claims *allegiance*, and, as it derives its power from Almighty God, so it appeals to its author. He is invoked to vindicate its right to the paramount obligation of allegiance. That is never to be questioned. He who cannot or will not recognize his sovereign, whether one or many, is regarded as perverse, inexcusable, unfit to live in society—a traitor.

The Constitution defines "Treason against the United States" to "consist in levying war against THEM." Let the soldier of the army ask his conscience whether he can go into battle against any one of the sovereign States; to whom he has *sworn ALLEGIANCE*? Has he the right to question any of those sovereigns, as to its observance of the Constitution, or a law made in pursuance of it? Who made the Constitution? Was it not those sovereigns, each for itself and for the people, who were bound by allegiance, to their respective sovereigns?

Thanks be to Almighty God, in whose awful book each soldier's oath is recorded, that so far, no one has been killed in violation of his oath! Thanks be to Almighty God, no officer or soldier of the army has yet stained his soul with perjury and murder, by shedding the blood of any man, acting under the orders of his sovereign! No officer of the army, from the President to the lowest grade, can justify such murder and perjury before God, by any order from him. He is only clothed with authority, which cannot be *lawful* against the supreme power, that created the Constitution and laws, which have invested him with command.

Here, again, the soldier is guarded by the very terms of the law. The Regulations of the Army begin with this pregnant sentence: "All officers are required to obey strictly, and to execute with alacrity *and good faith*, the *LAWFUL* orders of the superior appointed over them." They are not machines. The sovereign does not require them to obey orders which are *not lawful*. Of this they must judge for themselves under their oath of *ALLEGIANCE*. If the commandant of a post is overwhelmed by his responsibility for the property in his charge, and forgets his sacred oath, or stifles his conscience; those who are under his command, are still more inexcusable if they fear his puny power, more than the Almighty God, who has heard their oaths. General Twiggs has set a worthy example. He

can make a fair return of the property which was under his charge; for the sovereign State of Texas has given its pledge of honor, to hold it all, in trust, for whomsoever may be interested.

The Government at Washington cannot lawfully order a single officer or soldier, or seaman, of the army or navy, to commit treason against one of the States, formerly known as the United States of America. The humblest man, who resists, will have the Omnipotent to sustain him. Choose ye between God and man. N

*Charleston, 10th March, 1861.*

## XI.

Has it come to this, that the freedom of the people of South Carolina; the supremacy of their sovereignty on its own domain; the right to possess the cradle of their infant liberty,—which it had fondly placed in the protection of as brave an army as ever trod the fields of death to victory and renown; under the command of its own appointed chief, bound by the sacred honor of the soldier's covenant of allegiance, and under a flag of its own, and thirty-two other sovereignties, whose stars shine thereon; by virtue of a solemn compact of equal right;—all depend on the vacillating judgment of one man,—a citizen of another State, surrounded by the perilous influences of treacherous flattery and fierce intimidation;—or if he swerve from duty, upon the intelligence and conscience of another—of subordinate rank and accidental position—who is fettered by the stern constraint of military discipline?

Has it come to this, that the blessings of peace, our social order, the sanctity of law, (the blood of our people,) the fraternal relations of those sovereign States, who—linked in honorable and equal alliance, warred with tyranny for seven long years of suffering and heroic achievement, and proclaimed and vindicated before the civilized world the inherent sovereignty of free people, and of their numerous sovereign offspring, who have issued from the fruitful womb of sovereignties independent of foreign power;—all rest, not on the enlightened spirit of confederated millions, but on the flimsy thread of private will?

Has it come to this, that the Great Spirit of the Anglo-American people—guarded by the angels of faith, justice and peace—is to be driven forth from our glorious asylum of religious liberty, and the rights of humanity, by the Evil one—with his execrable demons of treason, anarchy and war—and that our only hope, except from Almighty God, is in the remaining

virtue of one or other of two fallible human creatures: who have grown old under the training of a deceptive system of government?

Verily, we are in the depths of humiliation, our proud heads bowed down to the dust, and strewn with the ashes of sorrow; our royal robes put off, and our nakedness scarcely covered by the sackcloth of mutual dependance; which,—vile as the garment is,—we may only wear by the sufferance of hostile strangers. For more than two generations we have been living under the delusions of falsehood. We have fancied that we had grown great, and the sound of our fame has been heard among all nations. Our branches have extended over the whole earth; and now we find that the trunk of the tree is hollow with rottenness, and the parasite mistletoe has covered its decaying limbs. The very sackcloth with which we were clothed, has the badge of our degradation.

We are contemned for our weakness; and our very manhood is insulted, and threatened with destruction. Let the world despise us, let our enemies scoff at us, let insolent power mock at our calamity. They cannot wound our hearts, for we feel our shame so deeply, that no upbraidings, nor indignity can sink us lower than we have already humbled our souls in the consciousness of sin. We know we have been living with idolators, and in the desolation of our spirits, we acknowledge our abandonment of the truth. We have thrice stricken our hearts, and confessed before the universe: "It is our fault, it is our fault, our most grievous fault."

Was it for this that our hardy ancestors abandoned their sweet homes in that glorious old England, whose freedom had been betrayed by hypoeritical, and faithless, and licentious monarchs, and had sheltered their liberties in the wild forests of America? Was it for this they had been trained to constant vigilance, by fierce wars with the savage Indian; whose war whoop, and tomahawk, and scalping knife, had taught them a courageous self-reliance, and been conquered by the spirit of independence? Was it for this that South Carolinians had civilized the wilderness; and when their wealth and refinement had made our loved State the abode of hospitality, and our own Charleston the favorite of the British crown, they spurned the allurements of power, and, for principle alone, plunged into a ruthless war with foreign tyranny and civil discord? Was

it for this that our people sternly armed themselves, and animated by the indomitable resolution of John Rutledge, disdained the counsels of the Continental General, who admonished them that the Palmetto fort would be a slaughter pen; and while their arrogant allies were constructing the bridge and causeway for ignominious retreat, were preparing to die for their country? Was it for this that the Almighty God of battles blest them with a victory, whose imperishable lesson they should never forget,—that a brave, free people, are ever sufficient to defend those liberties, which that God has given them, on the condition that they must be faithful to Him, by being true to themselves?

No man can be faithful to his Creator who enslaves himself to another. No people can be great if they are subjected to the rule of others; and, without independence, their freedom and sovereignty decay. The waves of the Persian invasion upon Greece were broken at Thermopylæ, by the promptness and fortitude of the single State of Sparta; who struck the enemy, without waiting for the co-operation of others.

Who has not learned the lesson of the enervation of the army of the invincible Hannibal, in the repose of Capua? And alas! the people of South Carolina had scarcely realized the achievement of their independence,—the enthroning of their sovereignty—the dear-bought and priceless treasure of their freedom; when they were betrayed into the unhallowed Union, and jeopardized their political existence. The self-reliance, and vigilance, and masculine energies of Republicanism, or self-government, were exchanged for the gilded splendor of a grand empire, and luxuries of deceitful peace. They slept, like the “voluptuous Cæsar,” and “let security steal all their power.”

“Heu prisca fides!  
Heu candida veritas!”

We have been chastised. May the rod, which has smitten us, awaken to manly exertion.

Yet, the tempter again approached, with his false seduction. We should have abundance of all the good things of earth; if we would sacrifice our liberty of spirit to our appetite for gain. We should have dominion from one ocean to the other, and as far as the eye can reach, from the highest mountains of our broad land; if we would only bow down and worship the false



spirit of the Union. Our pride and self-confidence were enticed to throw ourselves, in rash violence, from the pinnacle of our sovereignty, upon the armed rocks at our feet, without waiting for its command. Yet, famished as we have been by our long endurance; dishonored as we were by the association with that power, which carried us wherever it would; confiding in the sovereignty, which we have been stimulated to insult; we have, at last, with the power of truth, and in the name of that sacred sovereignty, driven the tempter away.

Though we stand alone and exhausted, we will be sustained by the ministers of that power, to which we have, in our humility, faithfully returned. If we are threatened with the lions of war, like Daniel, we will go calmly in their den. If base seduction be proffered, we will escape unpolluted, like Joseph, though our last garment be torn. Though our independence be naked, we shall preserve it. Wall us in from the world, by fleets and armies of unrighteous force, and make our country a prison for its people: we will, like Alfred, though an outlaw, preserve our sovereignty.

“Virtue may be assailed, but never hurt;  
 Surprised by unjust force, but not enthral’d:  
 Yea, even that, which mischief meant most harm,  
 Shall, in the happy trial, prove most glory:  
 But even, on itself, shall back recoil;  
 And mix no more with goodness; when, at last,  
 Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,  
 It shall be, in eternal, restless change,  
 Self-fed and self-consumed; if this fail,  
 The pillared firmament is rottenness,  
 And earth’s base built on stubble.”

If we seek counsel from our most ancient men, they tell us that, like ourselves, they know nothing of freedom, and sovereignty, and independence; but what, like us, they have learned are the delusions of the fraudulent Union, to which they were betrayed. They point, in sadness, to the far-famed “temple of freedom;” and, with us, confess that it is “like a whited sepulchre, which outwardly appears to men beautiful, but within is full of dead men’s bones, and of all filthiness.”

Let us consult the records of its melancholy history, and read what the prophets of that period, who were trampled down by an infatuated people, foretold of its fate. Let us compare their prophecies with the direful verification. Rawlins

Lowndes, nearly seventy-three years ago, told our people that "The security of a Republic is jealousy; for its ruin may be expected from unsuspecting security. Let us not, therefore, receive this proffered system with implicit confidence, as carrying with it the stamp of superior perfection; rather let us compare what we already possess with what we are offered for it."

\* \* \* \* \* "It has been said that this new Government was to be considered as an experiment. He really was afraid it would prove *a fatal one to our peace and happiness*. An experiment! What! *risk the loss of political existence* on experiment! No; if we are to make experiments, rather let them be such as may do good; but which cannot possibly do any injury to us or our posterity. So far from having any expectation from such experiments, he sincerely believed that, when this new Constitution should be adopted, *the sun of the Southern States would set never to rise again.*"

James Lincoln, a revolutionary backwoodsman of Ninety-six—the old bloody ground of the war—said: "He had listened, with eager attention, to all the arguments in favor of the Constitution; but he solemnly declared that the more he heard, *the more he was persuaded of its evil tendency.*" \* \* "What have we been contending for these ten years past? Liberty! *What is liberty? The power of governing yourselves.* If you *adopt this Constitution, have you this power?*" \* \* "Let the people but once trust their liberties out of their own hands, and what will be the consequence?" \* \* "No people on earth are so free, at this day, as the people of America. All other nations are, more or less, in a state of slavery. They owe their Constitutions partly to chance, and partly to the sword; but that of America is the offspring of their choice; the darling of their bosom; and was there ever an instance, in the world, that a people in this situation, possessing all that heaven could give on earth, all that wisdom and valor could procure—was there ever a people, so situated, as calmly and deliberately to convene themselves together for the express purpose of considering whether they should give away, or retain these inestimable blessings."

George Mason, of Virginia, said: "My principal objection is that the Confederation is converted into one general, consolidated government, which, from my best judgment of it, *is one of the worst curses that can befall a nation.* Does any man sup-

pose that one general national government can exist in so extensive a country as this?"

Hear, lastly, what Patrick Henry told us, the great sage and orator of the Revolution:

"The forest born Demosthenes,  
Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas."

"Guard, with jealous attention, the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that jewel. *Unfortunately, nothing will preserve it but downright force.* Whenever you give up that force you are inevitably ruined. I am answered by gentlemen that, though I might speak of terrors, yet the fact was, that we were surrounded by none of the dangers I apprehended. I conceive *this government to be one of those dangers*; it has produced those horrors which distress many of our best citizens. We are come hither to preserve the poor Commonwealth of Virginia, if it can be possibly done; something must be done to preserve your liberty and mine. The Confederation, this same despised government, merits, in my opinion, the highest encomium; it carried us through a long and dangerous war; it rendered us victorious in that bloody conflict with a powerful nation; it has given us territory greater than any European monarch possesses; and shall a government, thus strong and vigorous, be accused of imbecility, and abandoned for want of energy?" "Happy will you be if you miss the fate of those nations who, omitting to resist their oppressors, *or negligently suffering their liberty to be wrested from them, have groaned under intolerable despotism.* Most of the human race are now in this deplorable condition; *and those nations who have gone in search of grandeur, power, and splendour, have also fallen a sacrifice, and been the victims of their folly. While they acquired these visionary blessings, they lost their freedom.*"

"A standing army we shall have also, to execute the execrable commands of tyranny; and how are you to punish them? Will you order them to be punished? Who shall obey these orders? Will your mace-bearer be a match for a disciplined regiment?"

The clause before you gives \* \* \* exclusive power of legislation in all cases whatsoever, for ten miles square, and over all places purchased for the erection of forts, magazines, arse-

*nals, dockyards, &c.* What resistance could be made? The attempt would be madness. You will find all the strength of this country in the hands of your enemies; their garrisons will naturally be the strongest places in the country."

You did not foresee, great patriot and prophet as you were, that the false principles of the Union would deteriorate the army itself, as they have every one of its institutions. You did not know that wars would demonstrate the vigor of the free citizen soldiers of the people; that a Jackson could be trained in the woods, and that militia, at New Orleans, could "conquer the conquerors of the conqueror of the world." You did not foresee that the heroism of Moultrie's battle would live in Palmetto regiments.

"If we admit this consolidated government, it will be because we like a great splendid one. Somewhere or other we must have a great and mighty empire. We must have an army and a navy, and a number of things. When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different; liberty was then the primary object. We are descended from a people whose government was founded on liberty; our glorious forefathers of Great Britain made liberty the foundation of everything. That country is become a great, mighty and splendid nation, not because their government is strong and energetic, but because liberty is its direct end and foundation. We drew the spirit of liberty from our British ancestors; by that spirit we have triumphed over every difficulty. But now the American spirit, assisted by the ropes and chains of consolidation, is about to convert this country into a powerful and mighty empire. If you make the citizens of this country agree to become the subjects of one great consolidated empire of America, *your government will not have sufficient energy to keep them together. Such a government will be incompatible with the genius of republicanism. There will be no checks, no real balances, in this government. What can avail your specious imaginary balances, your rope-dancing, chain-rattling, ridiculous, ideal checks and contrivances.*"

"The Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine these features, they appear to me horribly frightful." "The dangers of a consolidation ought to be guarded against in this country. Dangers are to be apprehended in whatever manner we proceed; but those of a con-

solidation are the most destructive." "We are told that this Government, collectively taken, is without an example; that it is national in this part, and federal in that part, &c. We may be amused, if we please, by a treatise on political anatomy. In the brain, it is national; the stamina are federal; some limbs are federal, others national. \* \* \* \* \* What signifies it to me that you have the most curious anatomical description of it in its creation? *To all the common purposes of legislation, it is a great consolidation of government.*"

"*The Northern States will never assent to regulations promotive of Southern aggrandizement, notwithstanding what gentlemen say of the probable virtue of our representatives. I dread the depravity of human nature. I wish to guard against it, by proper checks, and trust nothing to accident or chance. I will never depend on so slender a protection as the possibility of being represented by virtuous men.*" "There is a striking difference, and great contrariety of interests between the States. *They are naturally divided into carrying and productive States. This is an actual existing distinction, which cannot be altered. The former are more numerous, and must prevail.* \* \* *This Government subjects everything to the Northern majority. Is there not then a settled purpose to check the Southern interest?* WE THUS PUT UNBOUNDED POWER OVER OUR PROPERTY IN HANDS NOT HAVING A COMMON INTEREST WITH US. \* \* \* \* \* This is a picture so horrid, so wretched, so dreadful, that I need no longer dwell upon it."

"Permit me to say, that a great majority of the PEOPLE, even in the adopting States, are averse to this Government. I believe I would be right to say, that they have been egregiously misled. Pennsylvania has, *perhaps*, been tricked into it. If the other States, who have adopted it, have not been tricked, still they were too much hurried into its adoption."

"My worthy friend said, that a republican form of government would not suit a very extensive country; but that if a government were judiciously organized, and limits prescribed to it, an attention to these principles might render it possible for it to exist in an extensive territory. *Who ever will be bold to say that a CONTINENT can be governed by that system, contradicts all the experience of the world.* It is a work too great for human wisdom. Let me call for an example. Experience has been called the best teacher. I call for an example of a great extent

of country, governed by one government, or congress; call it what you will. I tell you that a government may be trimmed up according to gentlemen's fancy, but it never can operate; it would be very short lived."

The champion of freedom, the sage, inspired by the spirit of American liberty, to which he so often appealed with a childlike simplicity and nobleness of soul, was borne down. His great public services, and transcendent talents, could not save him from insult and calumny. Sadly he sank, overcome by the machinations of evil; by which, even great and good men were seduced into disingenuous conspiracies against the well ascertained sentiments of the people. The Constitution was the work of ambition, avarice and fraud, and deluded patriotism. Hear his modest, manly appeal to the present time, which was his future: "The voice of tradition, I trust, will inform posterity of our struggles for freedom. If our descendants be worthy the name of Americans, they will preserve and hand down to their latest posterity, the transactions of the present times; and, though I confess my exclamations are not worth the hearing, they will see that I have done my utmost to preserve their liberty."

Yet still the glorious confessor of the truth, when all but he were routed, and himself beaten down, on his knee; made his last appeal to that spiritual world, with which his pure intellect and courageous soul enabled him to commune. "He tells you of the important blessings which he imagines will result to us and mankind, from the adoption of this system. I see the awful immensity of the dangers with which it is pregnant. I see it. I feel it. I see beings of a higher order, anxious concerning our decision. When I see beyond the horizon that bounds human eyes, and look at the final consummation of all human things, and see those intelligent beings, which inhabit the ethereal mansions, reviewing the political decisions, and revolutions, which, in the progress of time, will happen in America: and the consequent happiness, or misery of mankind. I am led to believe that much of the account, on one side or the other, will depend on what we now decide. Our own happiness is not alone affected by the event. All nations are interested in the determination. We have it in our power to secure the happiness of one half of the human race. Its adoption may involve the misery of the other hemisphere."

The tradition is that he had seized the souls of his audience, and he might have preserved his loved people in their worship to the great Spirit of his devotion: but, whether he had not penetrated the deep malice of the great falsehood of the Union, which its fruits have exposed, and did not discern his enemy; or that his overthrow was permitted by our great Father, as His judgment on the faithlessness and prevarication of the people, through which they might learn the higher wisdom of simplicity and truth—he was stopped by a violent storm, “which put the house in such disorder,” that the question was adjourned. The length of these extracts needs no apology. Their grandeur and solemnity far excel any utterances of present thought. Venerable from age, they have imperishable solidity and freshness, like mountains of truth, clothed with the verdure of annual spring.

Now, that we have contemplated the overthrow of the champions of liberty, and read their prophetic warnings under the light of their fulfilment, we may profitably consider the construction of that abomination; which was reared and lyingly styled “the greatest temple of freedom in the world.” But before doing so, a recourse to first principles may aid us in understanding the frightful fraud. There is no mystery, however awful, which has been *revealed*, which it is not our duty bravely, yet humbly, to examine, as far as the revelation itself goes; for it was made for that very purpose. “And *He* said, let *us* make man to *our* image and likeness.” The body was made out “of the slime of the earth,” and that, therefore, was not the likeness of the uncreated. In the highest order of being, which is uncreated; there are then real existences, personally distinct, yet in unity. They are revealed in their manifestations to man, not in their essential substance; which is impenetrable, because out of the sphere of created being. Man is made after that image; and in each man, who is a unit, there are three essential attributes.—reason, which is sovereign—will, which is free—action, which is independent. He holds each and all of these attributes under direct responsibility to God; and if he surrender one of them absolutely to any other authority, he is unfaithful to his Creator and Sovereign, in the sphere of his relations to Him.

Our final judgment, so far as “each one works out his own salvation,” depends on the exercise of these attributes, subject

to the will of God, and none other. If we believe what is contradictory to reason, we are faithless. If we place our will absolutely at the disposal of another, we are deserters. If we act, except under our own judgment, and voluntarily, we fail in duty. Conscience is in this sphere, and all duties must be brought into its sphere before they become objects of the conscience. Every deviation from this truth causes disorder, and is of a suicidal character; for it attacks our relation with the Creator, in the constant maintenance of which is life.

By way of illustration, there never has been a more subtle or abominable sorcery, unless it be only an arrant delusion, than mesmerism; if it be true that it is essential to its operation, that the will of the subject must be absolutely surrendered to the practitioner. This may be consented to by weak persons, without considering the peril; but the evidence, so far as there is any, shows that free will is lost, and with it the right to the protection of God: our responsibility to whom can never be released. This is very awful, and it is, therefore, fit that a person so situated should bear the semblance of partial death. He is entranced. When the person to whom he subjects himself does not command action, he sleeps. He does not die, because he has not surrendered his life; but it is not certain he would not destroy himself *if commanded*. The sorcery has not *yet* gone so far. It has been rebuked. The spell is removed by *retracing* its steps.

Society, which is two or more men combined, derives its essential attributes from the nature of its members. Its attributes are the same, aggregated. The sound life of society, or of a State, requires that it shall be sovereign, free and independent. If it be not sovereign, there is no supremacy to decide between the contradictory judgments of its members. If it be not free, the people cannot be free; and, in the aggregate, they lose what is the natural right of each, and essential to his sound constitution. If it be not independent in its action, its sovereignty and freedom would be impaired. In the social order which is ordained by God, men surrender their reasons, their free will, and their personal independence, to rightful authority. They exercise their powers, under obedience to the laws of society, within its proper sphere; and their duties are under the sanctions of conscience, when they are brought into its sphere.



States may form compacts, but if they do not retain their attributes of freedom, sovereignty, and independence, entire, they are, to the extent of their diminution, suicidal. There is a difference between *restraints*, self-imposed, or laws of self-government, in particular relations, however stringent, and the *right* to impose laws, however trivial. Oppressive legislation, which is independent of others, is less fatal to society, than the most indulgent, which is imposed by others. One relates to the exercise of power, the other to the right to the power itself.

Let us ascend from the consideration of the image, to the contemplation of its infinite Original. In the unity of God we behold the three eternal persons, whose "likenesses" are seen in the essential attributes of man and of states. As those persons are each uncreated, they must each be eternal and infinite, and, therefore, equal. Any inequality would destroy their harmony, and the unity would be imperfect. So, likewise, in man and in states, their essential attributes must be equal and mutually independent. Otherwise their just balance would be destroyed, and their reciprocal action produce a jarring discord, tending to death.

That they are distinct in their operation every man is conscious, and yet they all co-operate as a unite. At least this is their natural, and, therefore, proper and perfect state. Any deviation from this tends to destruction.

In every act of a sound man we perceive the judgment of the reason, the force of the will, and the power of action in simultaneous exercise. Yet we know that man, in his unity, can arrest either of these powers, and that he can control them. Thus, he can refuse his assent to the dictates of his reason, he can pause and reconsider. He can treat, in the same way, his will, and his action. Yet he is conscious that in the regular exercise of those attributes, though they are simultaneous, there is an order in their operation, for the reason judges, the will impels, and the action proceeds from the reason and the will. And here, again, is the mysterious resemblance to the infinite Originals: for the Father rules in heaven; the Word is generated by him, as the will of man is by his reason; and the Spirit of God, that "moved on the face of the waters," proceeds from the Father and the Son.

This sublime mystery is more clear in revelation than its image is in man, because the latter is obscured by human im

perfections. The pure light of truth does not dazzle and confound, but illumines the mind ; while the irregularities of corrupted humanity bewilder and perplex.

How wonderfully clear is all this contained in that simple and comprehensive prayer which was taught by the Incarnate Word ! Our Father is in heaven. His name is holy His kingdom or sovereignty is to be recognized, and come to all. His will or word is to be generated—as the original is more correctly translated, for it expresses being rather than execution—in earth, by his advent on earth, as it is in heaven ; in the former by his humanity, in the latter, by his original divine personality. While the beneficent Spirit is invoked, in its action, to sustain his creatures, and to remit our debts to the justice of God ; as we are enabled to do to one another, through that charity, which comes only from our regenerated humanity, derived from the Incarnate Word ; and yet further in its action upon us, to lead us not into trials or temptation, and deliver us from evil ; which is the contradiction of God by his creatures. *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate* ; yet though we “ see now through a glass darkly,” we can see, and do see ; and before God, we must learn and practice his teachings, or suffer the consequences of our perverse or slothful inattention.

The great laws of our being should be drawn from the original, and not from the disfigured image. Hence, in a perfect State, sovereignty, freedom and independence should be equal ; yet orderly in their mutual relations ; they should each be preserved entire. Hence, also, the independent action of States, proceeds from the Supreme sovereignty, regulating the power of the whole ; and sustained, and impelled by the freedom of the people.

These three attributes are the elements of its existence ; and injury to either, impairs its health, and endangers its life. They compose “ the triple cord ” which Solomon said was “ not easily broken.” It is a solemn thought that the “ image ” of Deity—his unity and trinity—is stamped on man and on society, and it must be a fearful thing to efface it. N.

*Charleston, 26th December, 1860.*







